1: Holmberg--58 [4] (1941-42) 1950 Siriono
116, 159, 557, 123

"One case deserves special mention. Enía (Knee) was the brother-in-law of Chief Eantándu. He had had some contact with the outside, but because of maltreatment had run away from his patron and returned to native life. He was an intelligent man with an unusual ability (for a Siriono) to adjust to white civilization. He was a hard worker and reliable, and he knew considerable Spanish. His one weakness was that he could not hunt as well as his countrymen. Time after time I saw him leave with his bow and arrows, and time after time I watched him return emply-handed, while his fellow tribesmen left after him on the same trail and returned with game. He was generally referred to as 'not knowing how to hunt.' He was openly insulted at drinking feasts for his inability to hunt. He had lost at least one wife to better men. His status was low; his anxiety about hunting, high. He had, however, made some kind of readjustment to native life by planting more crops and collecting more forest products than the others and trading some of his vegetable products for meat. But still he was not satisfied. Noting this condition, I set out to raise his status. First he accompanied me with his bow and arrows on hunting trips. He carried in game which I shot, part of which was given to him and which we told others was shot by him. His status began to improve. Shortly thereafter I taught him to use a shotgun, and he brought in game of his own. Needless to say, when I left Tibaera he was enjoying the highest status, had acquired several new sex partners, and was insulting others, instead of being insulted by them."

1: Holmberg--59-60 (1941-42) 1950 Siriono
116, 159, 643, 578

"The following is an example of the sort of thing that was constantly occurring at Tibaera. Kwándu (Porcupine), a member of the band and extended family of Ačíba-eóko (Long-arm), the chief, was absent for several days with his younger brother on a hunting expedition. On returning to camp, they brought with them about a dozen tortoises of good size. These were tied up with lianas and hung on beams in the house, one or two of them being butchered each day. Ačíba-eóko, desiring meat, first made a direct request to Kwándu, but was brushed off and given nothing. Following this he made public remarks without mentioning names that mbía (countrymen) were keeping all the meat to themselves and not giving any to him, the chief. The owners of the tortoises still paid no attention to him. Finally, after about 3 days, Ačíba-eóko, having received nothing, became so angry that he left for the hunt [60] with his family and stayed away for about a week. He returned with considerable roast meat which he distributed to no one else but members of his immediate family."

1; Holmberg--62 [5] (1941-42) 1950 Siriono
116, 154, 224, 578, 159

"Men often dissipate their anger toward other men by hunting. One day Eantándu was angry with Mbiku who had hunted coati and given him none. Flushed with anger, Eantándu picked up his bow and arrows and departed for the hunt. When he returned about 5 hours later with a couple of small monkeys, his wrath had subsided considerably. He told me that when men are angry they go hunting. If they shoot any game their anger disappears; even if they do not kill anything they return home too tired to be angry."

"The Siriono also recognize that under extreme conditions of fright miscarriages are more likely [67] to occur. One interesting instance of this kind, although it was not observed by me, came to my attention while I was living in Tibaera. Sometime in 1938 one of the amphibian planes of Lloyd Aéreo Boliviano, the Bolivian national airline, got lost in a storm between Cochabamba and Trinidad and for lack of gas was forced to land on an uncharted lake in the Siriono country. It so happened that Erésa-eánta (Strong-eyes), his five wives, and their children were camped on this lake at the time, hunting, fishing, and tending a small garden plot which he cultivated there. It was probably the first time that an unacculturated Siriono had ever seen an airplane; in any event, Erésa-eánta and his family were unacquainted with such a phenomenon.

As Erésa-eánta described the event to me, he was returning from the hunt late one afternoon to his house, which was situated near the shores of the lake, when he heard a buzzing sound some distance away. As it became louder he got frightened and hurried on to the house. When he arrived there, he saw a huge ngidadíša (harpy eagle, his term for the plane) swooping down on the lake. When it had settled, people got out of its 'stomach.' He and his family were immediately seized with terrific fright and took to the bush, carrying with them nothing but their hammocks and fire. Upon arriving at a water hole some distance away, they were overcome by darkness and were forced to camp for the night. Sometime during the night, one of his wives who was pregnant—Kiré was her name, and she verified the story—had a miscarriage, 'because she had

great fear.' The remains of this abnormal birth were thrown away into the bush. On the following day Erésa-eánta's wives proceeded to another camp, while he cautiously approached the lake again to pick up some of the supplies left there. Upon arriving, he found that 'ngidadísa' was still there, and he watched it for some time while hidden in the brush near the shore. Before noon of the same day the 'father' of the 'ngidadísa' i.e., a larger plane, flew over the spot but left immediately. Erésa-eánta remained concealed in the brush. Later in the afternoon a 'brother' of the first 'ngidadísa,' i.e., a plane like it, circled overhead and landed near it. This also had people in its 'belly.' After the people conversed for some time, both of the planes went off together, and he never saw them again. He said that he returned to his family the same afternoon, but that he did not come back to the lake for a long time afterward. More than 3 years later I had the good fortune to spend considerable time with one of the worried passengers of that plane, Señor Medardo Solares A., who substantially confirmed the events as recounted to me by Erésa-eánta."

"The following are observations on the birth of a pair of twins at Tihaera on the night of January 17, 1942. Up until the time of the birth, of course, no one had expected a pair of twins—the parturient mother, Eakwantúi (Tapir), least of all. Before the birth she had assured me time and again that she would have but one child.

In the case of this pair of twins, the first signs of birth appeared almost a month and a half before the children were actually born. About 6 a.m, on December 1, 1941, the woman began to feel labor pains and informed her husband. He, following the Siriono custom, picked up his bow and arrows and went out to hunt. (6) The usual preparations

6. The reason for this is to secure a name for the child.

were made for the birth, such as loosening the earth underneath the hammock and hanging up the childbirth rope. After an hour or so, however, labor pains subsided, and the woman went about her usual duties in the house. At noon she smeared some uruku on her face to facilitate the birth, but by the time her husband had returned from the hunt nothing further had happened. He had secured four toucans and two squirrels. These were eaten by him and the families of his in-laws, but his wife did not eat any of these animals as they were taboo to her.

After the first labor pains, life proceeded normally, the prospective father and mother however, remaining close to the house. On December 4, at about 2 p.m., Eakwantúi

again began to feel labor pains. Again her husband picked up his bow and arrows, and preparations were made for the birth. On this day labor pains were considerably stronger than before. Eakwantúi lay in her hammock in great pain, muttering 'sedídi erási' ('I am child sick'). As her cries got louder, most of the women of the band gathered and sat down in [71] neighboring hammocks. Children were also present, boys and girls as well as babes in arms. No men were intentionally present, although some lay nearby in their hammocks, paying no attention to the proceedings. After about 10 minutes of waiting for the birth to take place, someone at the other end of the house announced the arrival of a party with manioc brought in from an old garden some distance away. The suffering woman was immediately abandoned; everyone made a rush to see whether he could get some manioc. In a short while the labor pains ceased, and at about 6 p.m. Eakwantúi's husband returned from the hunt with a squirrel, which was eaten by his sister.

Nothing further happened, except that the prospective parents had occasional intercourse to hasten the delivery of the child, until December 17, when Eakwantúi again began to feel labor pains about 7:30 in the morning. Her husband stretched the childbirth rope over the hammock before going out to hunt. Tatúi (Armadillo), the husband's sister, swept the floor under the hammock and loosened the earth with a digging stick. An old woman, not an immediate relative, performed a solo dance at the head of

Eakwantúi's hammock to facilitate the birth. Again present were most of the women and children of the band. After about an hour the birth pangs subsided for the third time. At nightfall Eakwantúi's husband returned with a small tortoise, which was eaten by his brother-in-law.

Between December 17 and January 17 there was no further progress toward labor, but there was considerable talk on the part of the other women, who expected that Eakwantúi would die. On the whole, however, they paid little attention to her although her sister-in-law, Eičazi (Mother-of-Clubfoot) said to me, 'ḳóse móse mbía máno akendási' ('People have died in childbirth before'). During this period both Eakwantúi and her husband stayed close to camp. He did not go hunting for more than a day at a time, and the only times she left camp were to have intercourse to stimulate the birth of the infant.

Finally, on January 17, at about 3 o'clock in the afternoon, Eakwantúi again began to have labor pains. Because of the previous false alarms almost no attention was paid to her at first. Her husband went hunting as usual, although he explained that it was too late in the afternoon to get game. About 5 p.m. the labor pains began to grow stronger, and Eakwantúi's sister-in-law began to rub her stomach a little. She herself was pulling and rubbing her breasts during the pains. This time her husband's sister's husband tied a piece of pole over the hammock with lianas, and she grasped on to this for support while trying to give birth. Receiving very little attention, she continued in pain until about 5:30 p.m., when her husband returned from the hunt with a small turtle. This was

immediately prepared and eaten by one of his sisters-in-law. A girl child was finally born about 7 p.m., dropping through the strings of the hammock, and about 3 minutes afterward, a boy. As soon as the girl was born, the father got out of his hammock and assisted Eakwantúi by supporting her under the arms. When the boy was born, there was terrific confusion among the women, who crowded so close to the mother that she could hardly breathe, but none made an effort to help her. After the second birth the mother got out of the hammock to expel the afterbirth. Both children were lying in the dirt underneath the hammock, showing few signs of life. The mother appointed Araia, a cowife, to take care of one of the children. When Araia picked up the boy, all the women cried, 'Dézi eráNkwi' ('penis for the mother,' i.e., the boy for the mother), so she put the boy down and took up the girl. The mother, who had expelled the placentas in the meantime, called for a basket. From it she took a small blade of bamboo and handed it to her husband. He first severed the cord of the girl about 2 inches from the placenta and then cut off a piece about 4 inches long, which Araia, the second wife, put on her leg before tying it under her hammock. The cord of the boy was then cut in the same manner. It was now about 8 p.m., and almost everyone who had been observing the birth, retired to his hammock to sleep.

After the rest had left, the mother and Araia remained seated on the ground with the two children. The mother began to scrape up the bloody earth from underneath the

hammock with her hands, pushing it into a small hole which her sister-in-law, Tatúi (Armadillo), had made for that purpose near the head of the hammock. When all of the blood-stained earth had been placed in the hole, the mother carefully put the two placentas on top. Then both of the women began to shape the children, first straight[71]ening their legs, then pushing their hips inward, and finally pressing their heads slightly from front to back—'to make them beautiful,' as Araia told me. Both infants were then given a hasty bath from a calabash of water, after which the two women, sitting on the ground, gave the babies suck. When I retired, at about 2 a.m., both women were still attending the infants and sitting in the same position they had assumed after the birth.

On the following morning, January 18, I returned to the hut about 6 a.m. The mother was then holding both of the infants, but when I came into the hut, she passed the female to Araia. The mother had not yet taken a bath; the blood from the birth was smeared all over her legs. Her husband was lying in the hammock, eating maize. The women spent some more time in shaping the limbs and pressing the hips and heads of the infants and then gave them a bath. Eakwantúi and Araia next began to eat roasted maize prepared for them by the 8-year-old daughter of the former. After eating the maize, the two women were brought some fruits of the aguaí and motacú. They continued to roast and eat until about 2 p.m., when they entered their hammocks for the first time since the birth the night before. At 8 o'clock that evening both women were still fast asleep in their hammocks with the infants upon their breasts. The father had lain in his hammock

all day.

About 8 a.m. on January 19 the father took a bath in the river. When he returned, Eakwantúi placed two baby slings—newly made and covered with uruku—around his neck, as well as two necklaces of coati teeth. He was then scarified on the legs by Isi, his father's brother. Meanwhile, the two infants were given their first haircut by the mother. During this operation they howled continually. After being scarified, the father's legs were washed and smeared with uruku. He then returned to his hammock and began to eat maize. I asked him what he could eat and what he could not eat at this time, and he gave me the following list of foods, which he said applied to the women as well:

Foods not taboo	Taboo foods
Peccary.	Coati.
Tapir.	Anteater.
Duck.	Harpy eagle.
Turtle.	Howler monkey.
Cormorant.	Guan.
Spider monkey.	Toucan.
Capuchin monkey.	Paca.
Deer.	Parrot

Macaw.
Fish.
Curassow.
Squirrel.
Agouti.
Alligator.
All vegetable foods.
All fruits except papaya.
Jaguar.
Porcupine.
Papaya.

When the mother finished giving the infants a haircut, the depilated hair was wrapped into two separate cotton balls and hung around the necks of the two women. The mother now gave the boy infant to her husband to hold while she went out to defecate. When she returned, he removed the baby slings and the coati necklaces and put them around her neck. He was then given a haircut by his sister, the hair clippings being thrown in the hole with the afterbirth. Feather ornaments were then put in his hair, in the traditional fashion by his sister. After he had been decorated, he scarified the legs of the mother and of Araia, who was taking care of the female infant. Both of the women had previously bathed. They were then given a haircut, and feather ornaments were glued into their hair. Cotton string covered with uruku was also wound around their arms, legs, and necks. By the time these decorations were complete, the day had almost ended, and

after an evening meal of maize all retired to their hammocks.

Early the next morning, January 20, the members of the family smeared uruku on their faces, arms, and legs. The father took off his old wrist guard and put on a new one. Both of the women and the father hung necklaces made of the base of [73] the quill feathers of the hawk around their necks. The women were also wearing necklaces containing the depilated hair of the infants. Several small, loosely woven baskets were made by the mother, and these were filled with ashes.

At 8 a.m. the party left for the bush on a trail leading out from the east side of the house. The father of the twins and his two wives were accompanied by one of his nephews who led the party with a basket of ashes which he strewed along the trail. The two women followed behind and also scattered ashes. The mother likewise carried a calabash of water, but she did not sprinkle this along the way. The father brought up the rear of the party, carrying nothing but his bow and two arrows. Not a word was said as the party proceeded along the way.

After walking about 10 minutes, when there were no more ashes left in the baskets, the party made a halt. The mother sat down and placed the two children in her lap. The father left, shortly returning with a green leaf of the motacú palm from which the mother then began to weave a carrying basket. The father and his nephew went off in quest of firewood, soon returning. The firewood was put in the basket, which was placed on the

father's back, and the party set out for the house. Just before arriving, however, a small stick was stuck into the ground, and the empty baskets, which had contained the ashes, were hung on it. The party then returned to the hut. Here a new fire was kindled and the mother gave the twins a bath from the calabash of water which she had been carrying. The father shortly left the house again and brought back a ripe leaf of the motacú palm, from which the mother wove a basket. When this was completed, she placed in it all the remains from the birth which had been lying in the hole in the ground at the head of the hammock, leaving the basket standing under the hammock. She then went about her regular household duties, and the father went out on the hunt. The period of couvade was officially over.

The feather ornaments which are glued into the hair after the birth of a child are worn for about a month afterward. In the case of the above-mentioned twins, the feathers were not cut out of the parents' hair until February 24. The afterbirth, moreover, was left standing in the basket underneath the hammock for 16 days before it was taken by the mother deep into the bush and thrown away."

"Only in one birth which I observed was there any question of the paternity involved or a reluctance on the part of a woman's husband to accept her child as his. Of course, considering the sexual freedom allowed by the Siriono, the true paternity of a child would be difficult to determine, but, as far as the group is concerned, it is only the social role of the father that is important. In the case referred to, one of the wives of Eóko left for the hunt before the infant was born but knew that his wife was in labor. She gave birth to a girl about 8 a.m. I was present at the birth and spent the day observing postnatal events, and, like the mother, waiting for Eóko to return and to cut the cord. We waited patiently until about 5 p.m., but Eóko had not yet returned. As a somewhat partial observer at this stage, I became concerned that the infant might die from an infection of the cord and placenta, which had been exposed to the flies the entire day, but upon making the suggestion that the cord should be cut, I was told by the mother and other informants that it was necessary to await the arrival of Eóko. Finally he returned, in company with other hunters, just as the sun was going down. He had shot a few keN (capuchin monkeys) which he threw down by the hammock of his first wife, paying no attention, however, to the mother and the newborn infant. In fact, he cast not so much as a glance in their direction.

Meanwhile, the mother took out a piece of bamboo and sat patiently on the ground waiting for Eóko to cut the cord. Instead of so doing, he lay down in his hammock and ordered his first wife to extract the thorns from his hands and feet. This operation took

approximately half an hour, by which time it was fairly obvious to all present that Eóko had no intention of cutting the cord. Women began to gather. Seáci, who was Eóko's niece, came up to me and said softly: 'You speak to Eóko; tell him to cut the cord.' I replied: 'No, you speak to him.' She was afraid to do so. Then one of Eóko's relatives remarked that Eóko claimed the child was not his, that he had 'divorced' this woman some time before. Following this declaration, one of the mother's female relatives came forward and publicly demanded that [74] Eóko cut the cord. He paid no attention whatsoever to her but continued to lie in his hammock and smoke his pipe. The mother of the infant took no part in the proceedings but continued to sit quietly on the ground with the child. Darkness set in. The mother's female relatives continued to put pressure on Eóko to cut the cord. Finally, after about an hour, he got up from his hammock, called for a calabash of water, and took a hasty bath. He then stooped down, took the bamboo knife from the mother, and severed the cord, thereby recognizing the child as his. Before doing so, however, he emphatically stated that the child was not his and that he was only cutting the cord to prevent the death of the child.

Eóko's reluctance to accept the infant as his was clearly reflected in his behavior during the period of couvade. He acted as if he did not care whether the infant lived or died. He paid no attention whatsoever to the mother, and although he was decorated with feathers like every father of a newborn child, he underwent few of the other observances

designed to protect and insure the life and health of the infant. He was not scarified on the legs, for instance, nor did he observe the rules of staying close to the house. He paid no attention to the food taboos and took no part in the rites terminating the couvade. He repeatedly told me that he had 'divorced' this woman and that he would have nothing more to do with her. This was borne out by subsequent events."

1: Holmberg--74 [2] (1941-42) 1950 Siriono-1-2
116, 553, 844, 159

"A specific case will best explain the method of naming. A certain woman at Tibaera called Eantázi (Mother-of-Strong-one) felt birth pangs in the early morning of August 28, 1941. Her husband, Eantándu (Father-of-Strong-one), upon being informed that the infant was soon expected, picked up his bow and arrows and left immediately for the hunt. Before leaving, however, he told me that he was going to look for a yákwa (jaguar) after which to name the baby. The infant was born about 10 a.m. while the father was still out on the hunt. He returned about 5 p.m., carrying a young jaguar on his back. After he had cut the cord, I asked him what the name of the child would be, and he replied, 'Yakwa,' which was the first animal that he had hunted that day.

The above-mentioned method of naming is practiced when the birth takes place during the day. If a child is born at night, when it is impossible for the father to go hunting, other methods are followed. In such cases, the infant may be named after some unusual characteristic that it possesses, such as a clubfoot, or after an animal some characteristic of which it shows a remarkable resemblance to. In the case of the twins whose birth was described above and which took place at night, the female was called Eáta (Many) because more than one child was born; the boy, Eičá (Twisted) because one of his feet was markedly turned inward. In another instance which I observed, an infant was born about 3 o'clock in the morning. Upon arriving belatedly on the scene, I asked the father what the name of the child would be, and he replied, 'Yikína' (Owl monkey).

When I questioned him as to why this name was given to the infant, he replied that while the birth was taking place a troop of owl monkeys passed by the house and were heard chattering."

1: Holmberg--75 [5] (1941-42) 1950 Siriono
116, 854, 159, 515

"In spite of the care with which mothers watch their young babies, I frequently observed infants playing with their feces. On one occasion Ačíba-eóko and his family were busily engaged consuming a batch of manioc. His first wife's baby, a boy about 6 months of age, was lying on the ground near the hammock. The baby defecated while the mother was eating, and she did not see him. After lying in the excreta for several minutes, he began to smear them over himself and shortly thereafter he put some of them into his mouth. At this moment the mother observed what he was doing. She grabbed the infant by the arm, put her finger into his mouth, and cleaned out the excreta, saying at the same time, 'abačikwaia íkwa nde' ('You are an evil spirit'). Although the baby was badly soiled, he was not bathed, but was wiped with a large leaf. The mother continued to eat without washing her hands."

1: Holmberg--77 [5] (1941-42) 1950 Siriono
116, 861, 159

"During all of my residence among the Siriono, I observed only one extreme outburst of aggression on the part of a mother against her child. This took place one evening about dusk. Erakúi, a nickname meaning 'Pointed-one,' had just begun to eat a chunk of broiled peccary meat which she had received from one of her relatives. Her young son, Erámi ('Old-buck'—so-called because he looked like an old man), although he had just eaten, began to complain that he had not had enough to eat. Erakúi paid little attention to him at first, but as he continued to complain, she made a few sharp remarks and finally said to him: 'You have already had enough to eat.' He replied: 'You lie,' and made a gesture of grabbing for the meat that she was eating. Suddenly she lost her temper, picked up a spindle lying nearby, and gave the boy a sharp rap on the shoulders. He began to howl and made a dash for the other end of the house to avoid more blows. She followed him a short distance, threw the spindle at him, and then returned to her hammock, where she, too, began to cry. (Mothers almost always cry after they have expressed aggression against their children.) The boy continued to wail at the other end of the house for about 20 minutes after which, since it was getting very dark, he sneaked back and climbed in a hammock with his father. In the morning all had been forgotten."

1: Holmberg--82 [6] (1941-42) 1950 Siriono
116, 582, 591, 159

"Only in exogamous marriages are a man's relations with his family completely upset. Because of economic factors, resistance to such marriages sometimes arises. While I was at Tibaera, an exogamous marriage occurred which changed existing conditions considerably. A man named Kimbai-ñéti (Little-man) had been previously married to a woman who died. Since there was no available spouse in the band for him to marry, he was without a wife. He continued to reside, however, with his mother-in-law and her other daughter who was married to another man. Kimbai-ñéti was an excellent hunter and brought a great deal of game into the household. When I arrived from the forest in company with the band of Ačíba-eóko, Kimbai-ñéti located a potential spouse in this band. A marriage was arranged. His former mother-in-law, however, tried her best to break up the match, but without success. Kimbai-ñéti left her house and moved in with his new wife and in-laws. Consequently his former mother-in-law was forced to seek other means of support. Before doing so, however, she tried to convince Kimbai-ñéti and his new wife to violate the rule of matrilocal residence and move back to her house, but they would have none of such a plan."

"When a person becomes too ill or infirm to follow the fortunes of the band, he is abandoned to shift for himself. Since this was the fate of a sick Indian whom I knew, the details of her case will best serve to illustrate the treatment accorded the aged in Siriono society. The case in question occurred while I was wandering with the Indians near Yaguarú, Guarayos. The band decided to make a move in the direction of the Rio Blanco. While they were making preparations for the journey, my attention was called to a middle-aged woman who was lying sick in her hammock, too sick to speak. I inquired of the chief what they planned to do with her. He referred me to her husband who told me that she would be left to die because she was too ill to walk and because she was going to die anyway. Departure was scheduled for the following morning. I was on hand to observe the event. The entire band walked out of the camp without so much as a farewell to the dying woman. Even her husband departed without saying good-by. She was left with a fire, a calabash of water, her personal belongings, and nothing more. She was too sick to protest.

After the band had left, I set out in company with a number of Indians for the Mission of Yaguarú to cure myself of an eye ailment. On my return about 3 weeks later, I passed by the same spot again. I went into the house, but found no sign of the woman there. I continued my journey down the trail in the direction of Tibaera and soon came upon a hut in which the band had camped the day I parted from them. Just outside of this shelter were the remains (and hammock) of the sick woman. By this time, of

course, the ants and vultures had stripped the bones clean. She had tried her utmost to follow the fortunes of the band, but had failed and had experienced the same fate that is accorded all Siriono whose days of utility are over."

1: Holmberg--86-87 (1941-42) 1950 Siriono
116, 753, 159

"While I was at Casarabe, Téko became sick with dysenterylike infection of the stomach. His illness coincided with the season of maturity of the wild fruit coquino, which is greatly relished by the Siriono. In view of the nature of his illness, I suggested to Téko that he refrain from eating this fruit for several days because of the acid which it contains, often highly irritating to the stomach when eaten in large quantities. But my words had no effect. His relatives collected huge quantities of coquino during the day and brought Téko large baskets of them every night on their return from the forest. In spite of terrific stomach pains and diarrhea, he managed to eat as many as a hundred of these fruits (each one about the size of a large plum) each night, thus irritating his otherwise painful condition. After several days of such a diet, he finally expired one morning, but not without having eaten a full basket of these fruits the night before. Until his death his prognosis had been good, according to [87] native theory, because he had been able to eat."

1: Holmberg--88 [3] (1941-42) 1950 Siriono
116, 763, 159

"Erésa-eóko (Long-eyes), a bearded man of about 40 years of age, died in October 1941. About 10 days before his death, he was stricken with sharp pains in his stomach, accompanied by constant diarrhea. He told me that an abačikwaia (evil spirit) was responsible for his illness. During the 10 days that he lay sick, he was attended solely by his wife. Although she gave him no medicines of any kind, she stood by his hammock and hummed chants for an hour or so each day to drive out the evil spirits. This treatment being unsuccessful, she took six of Erésa-eóko's arrows and stuck them into the ground near the head of his hammock—also to drive out the evil spirits. But to no avail, for Erésa-eóko got worse and died shortly thereafter.

In the morning of the day of Erésa-eóko's death, his wife wove two mats of motacú palm. Erésa-eólo was lifted from his hammock while still alive and placed on one of these mats, where he lay groaning most of the morning. He vomited and defecated frequently. The vomit and excreta were cleaned up by his wife, who wrapped them in leaves and placed them in a special basket hanging nearby. She sat watch over him, opening his eyes and mouth, and pinching his testicles, from time to time, until he finally died at about 2 o'clock in the afternoon. "

I: Holmberg--88 [4] (1941-42) 1950 Siriono
116, 764, 159

"As soon as it was certain that Erésa-eóko was dead, his corpse was covered with a mat of motacú and, within an hour's time, carried by several of his cousins about a quarter of a mile into the forest for interment. The funeral party consisted of five men —all cousins of the deceased—and the widow. Besides the corpse, they carried with them various possessions of the deceased: his drinking vessels full of water, his pipes, fire and the basket containing his vomit and excreta of the previous 10 days. Upon arriving at the burial site, they dropped the corpse and these possessions to the ground, and a shallow grave was hastily dug with a digging stick by one of the men. This was lined with green boughs of the motacú palm, and the deceased was rolled into it and buried. His calabashes and pipes were placed on top of the grave, and a small fire was built on either side. The vomit and excreta were then thrown away near the grave, and the party returned to the house. Although the widow wept silently during the proceedings, not a word was said by a single member of the funeral party. After returning to the house, the men went to the river and bathed."

1: Holmberg--88 [5] (1941-42) 1950 Siriono
116, 765, 159

"On the day after the burial of Erésa-eóko, his widow was scarified on the upper and lower legs by a cowife. Uruku was then applied to her legs and face, and she was decorated with feathers. She ate nothing for 2 days although she smoked her pipe for about an hour each morning for 3 days, after which she moved her hammock next to that of one of the wives of Erésa-eánta, her husband's parallel cousin, to whom she passed under the levirate. Other members of the funeral party were also scarified and decorated with feathers."

1: Holmberg--88-89 (1941-42) 1950 Siriono
116, 763, 159

"While I was living at Tibaera, an infant of about 6 months of age died one morning about 11 o'clock. It had been ill for about 3 days with a stomach ailment, caused, according to the mother, by an [89] evil spirit. After the death the mother began to wail terrifically (the Siriono always express deep grief over the death of a child) and shortly thereafter emptied her breasts on the ground. About an hour later, she scraped up the wet dirt and put it into the basket where the child's excrement was stored. "

1: Holmberg--89 (1941-42) 1950 Siriono
116, 764, 826, 159

"The child was interred about 4 o'clock the same afternoon. The parents were the only people who went to the grave besides myself. The mother carried the dead infant wrapped in the baby sling which she had been accustomed to transport it in, and it was buried in a shallow grave lined with green boughs of motacú. A fire was made on both sides of the grave before the parents returned to the house. Both fasted for the rest of the day. The following day they were scarified on the legs and decorated with feathers. The father ate on the day following the burial, but the mother continued her fast until the second day, when she resumed normal life, except for occasional periods of wailing. She continued to empty her breasts, however, to prevent them from drying up."

1: Holmberg--98 [2] (1941-42) 1950 Siriono
116, 156, 571, 159

"Unconcern in one's fellows is manifested on every hand. On one occasion Ekwataia, a cripple who, although he was not married, had made an adjustment to life, went hunting. On his return darkness overcame him about five hundred yards from camp. The night was black as ink, and Ekwataia lost his way. He began to call for help—for someone to bring him fire or to guide him into camp by calls. No one paid heed to his requests, although by this time he was but a few hundred yards from camp. After about half an hour, his cries ceased, and his sister, Seáči said, 'A jaguar probably got him.' When Ekwataia returned the following morning, he told me that he had spent the night sitting on the branch of a tree to avoid being eaten by jaguars. His sister, however, although she manifested a singular unconcern for his survival the night before, complained bitterly that he gave her such a small part of his catch."